1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

769 587 families give free access to the hearth, not only to the members of strange families, but also to the souls of their deceased members. The soul of a deceased relative, both on the father's and on the mother's side, may enter the new-born child; and each child borne by the daughter-in-law or engendered by the son-in-law may become the possessor of the soul of a deceased relative of a strange family. Thus a marriage contracted between two families brings nearer not only the living, but also the souls of the dead members, and the guardians of both families. The Koryak like to strengthen the union by new marriages. Thus the brother of a married woman will court her husband's sister, if there be such. These are favorite unions. We meet such cases, not only in every-day life, but also in myths.[1] In my opinion, the Koryak levirate has for its object the maintenance of the union between two families: a widower marries the sister or relative of his deceased wife, and a widow is married to the relative of her deceased husband, in order to maintain the family union which has been interrupted by death.

587 182 582

621 582 As marriage, with the exception of the above-mentioned degrees of kinship, may be contracted between parties of the same village or family even, — for instance, any second-cousins, — it happens very rarely that the match-maker or bridegroom goes to a remote village or nomad camp in search of a bride. Most frequently marriages are contracted between inhabitants of neighboring villages. On the Palpal I once met an elderly Koryak from the village Mikino driving to the Opuka River, and asked him why he was going there. He replied that he was going to get some relative of his deceased wife to marry him. "Can't you find a wife for yourself anywhere nearer?" I asked. "I can," he replied: "but the union between my family and the family of my children's mother must not be interrupted. Besides, the relatives of my deceased wife know me and won't make me serve for a bride."

587 182 As I look at it, the Koryak levirate is an institution having for its object the continuation of the union between families related by affinity. This union is necessary in order that the spirits of the ancestors, the hearth and other family guardians, of the two families entering into relationship, may abide in peace and unity. In former times, when separate groups of a tribe waged war with one another on the slightest occasion, families united by marriage formed defensive and offensive alliances. Often the marrying-off of a girl into a family with which there had been war, made peace between the spirits of the deceased of both families, and put an end to blood-vengeance.

582 587 In certain cases, an extensive league of families may be formed through intermarriage. If there are several sons in one family, and several daughters in another, these two families cannot confine themselves to intermarrying with each other, for brothers of one family cannot marry sisters of another. Some

[1] See Part I, pp. 149, 157, 164, 226, 250, 252, 254, 257, 267, 305, 308.

11: Kennan--208-209 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak
116, 182, 756, 771 Reindeer

"The religion of all the natives of Northeastern Siberia, wandering and settled, including six or seven widely different tribes, is that corrupted form of Buddhism known as 'Shamanism.' It is a religion which varies considerably in different places and among different people; but with the Koraks and Chookchees it may be briefly defined as the worship of the evil spirits who are supposed to be embodied in all the mysterious powers and manifestations of Nature, such as epidemic and contagious diseases, severe storms, famines, eclipses, and brilliant Auroras. It takes its name from the 'Shamáns' or priests, who act as interpreters of the evil spirits' wishes and as mediators between them and man. All unnatural phenomena, and especially those of a disastrous and terrible nature, are attributed to the direct action of these evil spirits, and are considered as plain manifestations of their displeasure. It is claimed by many that the whole system of 'Shamanism' is a gigantic imposture practised by a few cunning priests upon the easy credulity of superstitious natives. [209] This I am sure is a prejudiced view. No one who has ever lived with the Siberian natives, studied their character, subjected himself to the same influences that surround them, and put himself as far as possible in their places, will ever doubt the sincerity of either priests or followers, or wonder that the worship of evil spirits should be their only religion. It is the only religion possible for such men in such circumstances."

11: Kennan--210-212 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak-1-2
116, 182, 756, 771 Reindeer

"If any proof were needed that this system of religion is the natural outgrowth of human nature in certain conditions of barbarism, it would be furnished by the universal prevalence of Shamanism in Northeastern Siberia among so many diverse tribes of different character and different origin. The tribe of Tungoos, for instance is certainly of Chinese descent, and the tribe of Yakoots is certainly Turkish. Both came from different regions, bringing different beliefs, superstitions, and modes of thought; but, when both were removed from all disturbing agencies and subjected to the same external influences, both developed precisely the same system [211] of religious belief. ... The Kamtchadals who accompanied me to the Samanka Mountains were the sons of Christian parents, and had been brought up from infancy in the Greek Church; they were firm believers in the Divine atonement and in Divine Providence, and prayed always night and morning for safety and preservation; yet, when overtaken by a storm in that gloomy range of mountains, the sense of the supernatural overcame their religious convictions, God seemed far away while evil spirits were near and active, and they sacrificed a dog, like very pagans, to propitiate the diabolical wrath of which the storm was an evidence. I could cite many similar instances, where the strongest and apparently most sincere [212] convictions of the reality of Divine government and superintendence have been overcome by the influence upon the imagination of some startling and unusual phenomenon of Nature. Man's actions are governed not so much by what he intellectually

believes as by what he vividly realizes; and it is this vivid realization of diabolical presence which has given rise to the religion of Shamanism."

11: Kennan--213-215 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak-1-2
116, 182, 758, 761, 888 Reindeer

"The bodies of the dead, among all the wandering tribes, are burned, together with all their effects, in the hope of a final resurrection of both spirit and matter; and the sick, as soon as their recovery becomes hopeless, are either stoned to death or speared. [214] We found it to be true, as we had been told by the Russians and the Kamtchadals, that the Koraks murdered all their old people as soon as sickness or the infirmities of age unfitted them for the hardships of a nomadic life. Long experience has given them a terrible familiarity with the best and quickest methods of taking life; and they often explained to us with the most sickening minuteness, as we sat at night in their smoky pologs, the different ways in which a man could be killed, and pointed out the vital parts of the body where a spear or knife thrust would prove most instantly fatal. I thought of De Quincey's celebrated Essay upon 'Murder Considered as one of the Fine Arts,' and of the field which a Korak encampment would afford to his 'Society of Connoisseurs in Murder.' All Koraks are taught to look upon such a death as the natural end of their existence, and they meet it generally with perfect composure. Instances are rare where a man desires to outlive the period of his physical activity and usefulness. They are put to death in the presence of the whole band, with elaborate but unintelligible ceremonies; their bodies are then burned, and the ashes suffered to be scattered and blown away by the wind.

These customs of murdering the old and sick, and burning the bodies of the dead, grow naturally out of the wandering life which the Koraks have adopted, and are only

illustrations of the powerful influence which physical laws exert everywhere upon the actions and moral feelings of men. They both follow logically and almost inevitably from the very nature of the country and cli-[215]mate. The barrenness of the soil in Northeastern Siberia, and the severity of the long winter, led man to domesticate the reindeer as the only means of obtaining a subsistence; the domestication of the reindeer necessitated a wandering life; a wandering life made sickness and infirmity unusually burdensome to both sufferers and supporters; and this finally led to the murder of the old and sick, as a measure both of policy and mercy. The same causes gave rise to the custom of burning the dead. Their nomadic life made it impossible for them to have any one place of common sepulture, and only with the greatest difficulty could they dig graves at all in the perpetually frozen ground. Bodies could not be left to be torn by wolves, and burning them was the only practicable alternative. Neither of these customs presupposes any original and innate savageness or barbarity on the part of the Koraks themselves. They are the natural development of certain circumstances, and only prove that the strongest emotions of human nature, such as filial reverence, fraternal affection, selfish love of life, and respect for the remains of friends, all are powerless to oppose the operation of great natural laws."

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

from the Eaſtern Ocean weſt to the head of the rivers *Penſchina* and *Omolona*, north to the *Anadir*, and ſouth to the rivers *Leſnaya* and *Karaga*. Sometimes they come even over theſe bounds, approaching very near to *Kamtſchatka*; but this indeed happens very ſeldom, and only when they are afraid of the *Tchukotſkoi*, who are their moſt dangerous neighbours. The people that they border upon are the *Kamtſchadales*, the *Tchukotſkoi*, *Ukageri*, and the *Tunguſi* or *Lamuti*.

The *Tcukotſkoi* ſhould be accounted a race of the *Koreki*, which in truth they are; if ſo, then it may be ſaid that the country of the *Koreki* is of far greater extent, for the *Tchukotſkoi* poſſeſs northward from the river *Anadir* as far as the *Tchukotſkoi* promontory. Indeed, thoſe *Tchukotſkoi* that live north of the river *Anadir* are not ſubject to the empire of *Ruſſia*, but frequently make incurſions upon thoſe that are, both *Koreki* and *Tchukotſkoi*, killing and making them priſoners, and driving off their herds of deer. In the ſummer time they fiſh not only in the ſeas near the mouth of the *Anadir*, but even come up the river a great way, when thoſe people who are ſubjects to *Ruſſia* frequently fall into their hands.

The *Koreki* differ not only in their manners from one another, but alſo in the form of their bodies. The wandering *Koreki*, as far as I could obſerve, are of ſmall ſtature, and very lean; they have ſmall heads, and black hair, which they ſhave every day; their face is oval, their eyes ſmall, eyebrows hanging, noſe ſhort, mouth large, and their beard black and pointed, which they frequently pluck. The fixed *Koreki*, though not of a very large ſtature, are however taller than the former, and thicker and ſtronger made; eſpecially thoſe that live towards the north, who reſemble a good deal the *Kamtſchadales* and *Tchukotſkoi*.

There is beſides a very great difference in their cuſtoms and habits. The wandering *Koreki* are extremely jealous, and ſometimes kill their wives upon ſuſpicion only; but when any

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

any are caught in adultery, both parties are certainly condemned to death. For this reaſon the women ſeem to take pains to make themſelves diſagreeable; for they never waſh their faces or hands, nor comb their hair, and their upper garments are dirty, ragged, and torn, the beſt being worn underneath. This they are obliged to do on account of the jealouſy of their huſbands; who ſay, that a woman has no occaſion to adorn herſelf unleſs to gain the affections of a ſtranger, for her huſband loves her without that. On the contrary, the fixed *Koreki*, and *Tchukotſkoi*, look upon it as the trueſt mark of friendſhip, when they entertain a friend, to put him to bed with their wife or daughter; and a refuſal of this civility they conſider as the greateſt affront; and are even capable of murdering a man for ſuch a contempt. This happened to ſeveral *Ruſſian* Coſſacks before they were acquainted with the cuſtoms of the people. The wives of the fixed *Koreki* endeavour to adorn themſelves as much as poſſible, painting their faces, wearing fine cloaths, and uſing various means to ſet off their perſons. In their huts they ſit quite naked, even in the company of ſtrangers.

The whole nation is rude, paſſionate, revengeful, and cruel; and the wandering *Koreki* are alſo proud and vain: they imagine that no people in the world are ſo happy as themſelves, regarding all the accounts that ſtrangers give of the advantages of other countries, as ſo many lies and fables; for, ſay they, "If you could enjoy theſe advantages at home, what made you take ſo much trouble to come to us? You ſeem to want ſeveral things which we have; we, on the contrary, are ſatisfied with what we poſſeſs, and never come to you to ſeek any thing". One great reaſon of their pride and haughtineſs may be owing to the ſettled or fixed *Koreki*, who ſhew the greateſt fear and awe of them; ſo that if one of their deer-herds ſhould come to a hut of the latter, they all run out to meet him, treat him with the greateſt

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

greateſt ceremony, and bear every affront. It was never heard that the ſettled *Koreki* did the leaſt injury to any of the wanderers; and this is ſo firmly believed, that our tax-gatherers think themſelves entirely ſafe, when they converſe with thoſe who live in huts, if they are guarded by one of the rein-deer *Koreki*: which may appear very ſtrange, conſidering that the ſettled *Koreki* are much their ſuperiors in ſtrength; and it can only be attributed to that general reſpect which poor people pay to the rich: for the poverty of the ſettled *Koreki* is ſo great, that they depend upon the others in a great meaſure for their cloathing. The rein-deer *Koreki* call the others their ſlaves, and treat them accordingly; but they behave very differently to the *Tchukotſkoi*, who are ſo terrible to them, that fifty of the rein-deer *Koreki* dare not ſtand againſt twenty of theſe; and if it was not for the protection of the Coſſacks of *Anadir*, the *Tchukotſkoi* would have rooted them out by this time. As every nation has ſomething commendable, ſo the *Koreki* are more honeſt and induſtrious than the *Kamtſchadales*, and ſeem to have a greater ſenſe of ſhame.

It is difficult to form an exact account of the numbers and different families of the *Koreki*, but it is thought that all together they are more numerous than the *Kamtſchadales*. They[1] live in ſuch places as abound with moſs for their rein-deer, without regarding the ſcarcity of wood or water: in the winter time they can uſe ſnow for water, and for firing moſs or graſs, of which they have plenty every where. Their manner of living, eſpecially in the winter time, is ſtill more diſagreeable than that of the *Kamtſchadales*: for being frequently obliged to change their habitations, the huts which they come into are all frozen; and when they begin to thaw them by the fires, which are uſually made of green ſhrubs or graſs, there ariſes a ſmoke, ſo pernicious to the eyes, that it is enough to blind a perſon entirely in one day.

1. [i.e., the Reindeer Koryak -- Analyst]